

Kansas—her Struggle and her Defense.

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KANSAS;

HER STRUGGLE AND HER DEFENSE.

"AND THE KING OF THE SOUTH SHALL BE MOVED WITH CHOLER, AND SHALL COME FORTH AND FIGHT WITH HIM, EVEN WITH THE KING OF THE NORTH: AND AT THE TIME OF THE END SHALL THE KING OF THE SOUTH PUSH AT HIM, AND THE KING OF THE NORTH SHALL COME AGAINST HIM LIKE A WHIRLWIND, WITH CHARIOTS, AND WITH HORSEMEN, AND WITH MANY SHIPS, AND HE SHALL ENTER INTO THE COUNTRIES AND SHALL OVERFLOW AND PASS OVER."—Dan. xi, 11, 40.

In this chapter the prophet foretells with great accuracy the mighty conquests of Alexander, the division of his realm, at his death, not in his family, but among his four generals, and then the final subsidence of these four empires into two great rivals. These two kingdoms were Egypt and Syria, with their dependencies. Egypt was ruled by the line of kings called the "Ptolemies," and Syria by the "Seleucidæ," the sons of Selencus. Egypt, from its location, was called the South, and Syria the North. In this chapter the prophet further describes the continual contests going on between the South kingdom and the North kingdom, through several generations of kings. Our text represents the South as offensive and aggressive, and the North at first forbearing, at last roused up, and then overwhelmingly victorious in defense and protection.

You already understand my theme to be "THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN FREEDOM AND SLAVERY, BETWEEN THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH."

Such a struggle exists; it began long since, and has only been increasing in strength and desperation up to the present time. Though some have denied the fact, and others, knowing it, have endeavored to ignore it, yet now it has become the most evident fact in our national history. At the present time no issue elicits so much thought, and talk, and planning as this. No issue among the American people concentrates so much of energy and determination as this. It is *the* question which now sways the American mind to one side or the other.

Political parties are just now expending all their skill and power to bring the entire mass of the voters in the country into rank and file upon one side or the other of this line. The press, both religious and secular, either by its warm advocacy or by its neutral favorings, is for freedom or for slavery, and just in proportion to its earnestness and its distinctive character is it considered *up* with the spirit of the times. In the commercial world, cotton is versus independence, and the cotton king rules with an iron scepter. In the church, this is the great question that agitates Conference, and Assembly, and Association. During the last two weeks this bone of contention has been picked by the three largest ecclesiastical bodies in the United States. All our benevolent publishing and missionary institutions are rocking upon this restless volcano. And now, at last, the evidence has come that must convince the most skeptical of the existence of this struggle, and that must quickly determine the position of even the most conservative. We are reminded of the old injunction, "the king's business demands haste."

Whether we muster under the king of the South or the king of the North must now be speedily decided. The recent outrages in Kansas and in the United States Senate are only the *text* taken for this occasion, out of a long chapter upon this very subject, from the book of our national history.

Then, to understand the text well, though it is so evidently self-interpreting, we must study the context. If we would get the full force and expression of the passage, we must view it in its relation to the whole subject; we must consider its author, its spirit and its times. It will not bethink the effort of this discourse to excite horror and indignation in your minds at the commission of such outrageous crimes. That were a work of supererogation. I doubt not your cheeks already tingle with shame and your righteous indignation burns in your breasts. This humble effort would rather seek to help us to a clearer understanding of the struggle now going on, and to decide in a calm and deliberate manner our solemn responsibilities in the same. No man is fit to engage in this contest until he has stanchd his anger and concentrated his energy, physical, mental and moral, upon the mighty issue.

Taking, then, these occurrences as our text, let us go back to the beginning of the chapter and trace the thread of connection up to the present crisis.

It is no weary journey through tomes of history and tradition, back to our Freedom's *birth-day*. Our fathers, or our fathers' fathers, rocked the cradle of the infant Independence, and they have told the story to us. How that her mother, like the woman in the Apocalypse, was driven from her native home into the wilderness, "where she had a place prepared of God," to bring forth her child—how that, in the midst of deprivation, and persecution,

and sorrow, her birth-pangs were long and heart-rending. They have told us of their joy over their first-born, such as none but those who have felt it can know. They have told us of the toil, and hardship, and execration which was heaped upon them by their cruel step-father, and how he tried to kill them, just because they would call the child their own.

But now, would God that I could take a garment upon my shoulders, and go backward, and cover the disgrace of that day. Our fathers were ashamed of it; they would have hidden the fact forever, if they could. A foundling was left at their door—the offering of Despotism was imposed upon them, to be adopted along with the child of Freedom. They were of entirely different natures; there was no likeness between them; they were antagonistic, and, like the sons of the patriarch, they were first found one having his hand upon the heel of the other, and how true has been the prediction in both cases, “the one shall be stronger than the other, and the elder shall *serve* the younger.”

Our fathers knew not what to do; they had not courage to kill the thing, though they tried their best to do so, while some demanded that he should live. And so they made the first compromise; they would not kill him right out, but they refused to christen him, and so his name does not appear in the Constitution; and they also refused to make any provision for his support or protection, but they even resolved to put him on such a regimen that they supposed he would absolutely die out in about twenty years; they cut off the foreign supply and really thought that would be the best and surest way to get rid of the creature.

Such was the origin of Freedom and of Slavery, and

such were the feelings in regard to them. Slavery existed here, not by any agreement of the men of the Revolution, but in spite of and against their protest. The system was not indigenous to the American soil; it was an exotic; it belonged to monarchism. No one need think that the Puritans came through what they did to forge fetters for human limbs. They had a sublimer mission; it was, to found here what the world had never seen—a church without a pope and a State without a king. Even in the Southern States there was then more or less of opposition to the system. In Prince George's County, Virginia, June, 1774, a general meeting resolved "that the African slave trade is injurious to the colony, because it obstructs the population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturers and other useful people from settling, and occasions an annual increase in the balance of trade against the colony." Because it obstructs the population of it by freemen! How wonderfully has that been verified to this day. At a similar meeting in Fairfax County, Virginia, about that time, George Washington in the chair, it was "resolved that it is the opinion of this meeting, that during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies; and in this connection, we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wish to see an entire stop put to such a wicked, cruel and unnatural trade." They had no idea of putting it under the perpetual safeguard of the Union. Similar views were declared by the State of Georgia, in 1775, condemning the whole system of slavery. An address was sent to the king, remonstrating against the traffic in slaves, and signed by the representatives of each of the colonies; and among these names was that of the immortal Washington.

Mr. Madison, who is sometimes called the Father of the Constitution, when an attempt was made to introduce slavery into the Constitution, said: "It must not be so, because we intend this Constitution to be the great charter of human liberty to the unborn millions who shall enjoy its protection, and who should never see that such an institution as slavery was ever known in our midst." And it was not done. Those men never dreamed of perpetuating slavery, much less of giving it a home in the Constitution. They knew that slavery was a lie; they meant that it should cease. Upon the very bell which called those old men together in Independence Hall, at Philadelphia, and which still hangs there, I have read these words, inscribed: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to *all* the inhabitants thereof." Such was the prevailing spirit of those times, which was reaffirmed in 1789, when Congress unanimously *ordained* that slavery or involuntary servitude should be forever excluded from all the territory they then had, viz: all that north-west of the Ohio river. It was that wise ordinance that has secured the blessing of liberty, and prosperity, and greatness to the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

Meantime, the value of the productions of slave labor, sugar and cotton, was very much enhanced, and this became a stimulus to those who already held slaves to hold on to them. Besides, a rivalry for political ascendancy began to appear, such that there was now a desire to add new States to each of the respective classes, the slave-holding and non-slave-holding States. And then the prohibition of the slave trade did not work so effectually as they expected in diminishing slavery, for it continued to grow. Now the antagonism manifest itself.

Louisiana, already having slavery under its old French organization, is demanded as a slave State, and was so received. Then came up the question of receiving the Territory of Missouri as a State: Shall it be free or slave? The House and the free States said *free*, and the Senate and the slave States said *slave*. Freedom and Slavery grappled, the former claiming the spirit of the fathers and the Constitution, and the precedent of the North-West Territory, the latter claiming its equal right and furiously demanding it. Here Freedom crippled and Slavery gained a victory. Before, the whole was consecrated to liberty; now, only *half*, and half disconsecrated to Slavery. Maine was received a non-slave-holding and Missouri a slave-holding State, and provision was made for the future upon the same scale—all below 36° 30' for Slavery, and all above for Freedom.

Now Slavery takes courage and gloats upon the idea of supremacy in the government. It was once sectional, and expected itself to die; now it awakes with the sudden ambition of becoming national and perpetual. And forthwith Florida must be bought of Spain, and then an exterminating warfare carried on against the Indians there, to make more room to work and whip the wretched slave. And scarcely is this accomplished when plans are put on foot to rescue from Mexico the province of Texas, to make it a slave plantation. Now, again, Freedom rouses; she remonstrates, she makes a feeble resistance, but all to no avail. Texas was received into the Union with slavery perpetual and provision for four new slave States, to be carved out of her territory. Then a quarrel was picked with Mexico, by provocation and aggression, in order to acquire new soil to satisfy the increasing

demand of the slave power. Freedom resisted, but was again overcome.

With the meanness and insolence of tyranny, the slave power compelled the government to refuse to acknowledge the independence of Hayti, where slaves have become freemen.

This slave system has forced our government to seek compensation for slaves escaped to foreign countries, or else to seek the surrender of fugitives, thus ignobly bowing our American institutions to assert in foreign countries the right of traffic in human flesh. This slaveocracy, having once disavowed the foreign slave trade, has all the while kept up the infamous home slave trade, and now, with its increasing insolence, demands the restoration of the old hellish commerce.

Waxing powerful, it dared to enter the halls of Congress and lay its ruffian hand upon the right of petition. Freedom resisted, and John Quincy Adams made his name immortal, if by nothing else, by his triumph, alone, in spite of censure, and persecution, and exposure of life. But even this victory was sought to be overthrown, a short time since, when three thousand respectable citizens of New England dared to use the right of petition. Then, as if to outrage all humanity, to violate the Constitution, and to compel the very citizens of the North to become slave hunters, and to make our broad, free domain a slave hunting ground, the Fugitive Slave Law was forced upon us, that denies these fundamental principles of our government, trial by jury and habeas corpus. Here, too, the North come to a stand, but was over-mastered by the despotism of the South.

Then is renewed the struggle upon the Missouri Compromise. Heretofore the South had received all her

advantage from that compromise, and the North had received nothing but the nominal possession of a howling wilderness, inhabited only by wild animals and savages. But now Ahab looks over into the vineyard of Naboth; it is near his domain; it is a fertile region; emigration begins to pour in; and Ahab, in violation of all right, and in violation of a solemn compact, robs his neighbor. Here the North again resisted, with remonstrance, and petition, and appeal, and press, and pulpit, and forum, but all to no avail. As always before, the victory turned upon the side of oppression. Mark, here, another step of usurpation in regard to the national territory. At first, not a foot of national domain under slavery; then, the ordinance of '87 consecrated every foot of newly acquired territory to perpetual freedom; then, in the Missouri Compromise, half was given up to slavery, and now, by the Nebraska Act, the *whole* is thrown open to the blight, and curse, and misery of chattelhood in man.

Now, my hearers, let us pause a moment and consider who it is that has done all this. Is it the thirteen millions of freemen in the North? Is it the six millions of whites in the South? Nay; the largest share of them, the laboring white poor, are as abject as the very slaves that toil by their side. "White slaves" was the contemptuous term by which Gov. Robert Wickliffe, of Kentucky, was pleased to designate them, and so they are considered.

Who, then, are the persons that usurp so much authority and sway in our government? They are the slaveholders. And how many are they? Fortunately for the truth, but shamefully for the cause of freedom, the last census reveals that the whole number of this class, men, women and children, all told, is only three hundred and

forty-seven thousand. Of these the larger share are small slave-holders, leaving only 92,000 persons as the owners of the great mass of slaves. 92,000! Less than the present population of Chicago! Yet this is the power that has controlled our nation, and, at this very hour, is the supreme authority in this country. It is sometimes called the Black Power, or Slave Power. But Charles Sumner has given its proper name, the Slave Oligarchy. It is the government of the few, and they are the genuine specimen of Oligarchs. It is this Slave Oligarchy that has made all of the encroachments upon freedom of which I have been speaking. It is this Slave Oligarchy that has brought slavery from being local to being claimed as national. It is this Slave Oligarchy that has perverted our government from the principles of Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison, and Henry to the policy of Pierce, and Douglas, and Atchison, and Stringfellow. It is this Slave Oligarchy that has elected our presidents. It is this that has controlled our Congress. It is this that has given the speakers their chairs, with one honorable exception in the present House. It is this Slave Oligarchy that appoints our foreign ministers and places our judges upon the supreme bench. It is this that appoints all our postmasters and all our government officials. It is the Slave Oligarchy that compels the North, besides paying their own postage, to pay a large surplus for the deficiency of the South; and then it is this same power that has robbed the mail of our letters and papers. It is this that subsidizes the national press. Indeed, there is nothing in the national government which the Slave Oligarchy does not appropriate. The power that has ruled this nation is as pure a despotism as ever insulted God or man.

Such is the nature of slavery, and such has ever been its legitimate working. The recent atrocities in Kansas and in Washington, that have electrified the people of the North by a double shock from the east and from the west, are but the natural working out of the system of slavery. These outrages are simply another step in the development of the nature of slavery. This is not an abnormal or accidental occurrence, but a legitimate part of the system. It is but carrying out the original plot. The same spirit has ever existed, but it has only lacked the power and opportunity, which are improved upon the first occasion.

Taking as data the nature of slavery and its actual course thus far, these later results might have been calculated long ago, with as much certainty as the astronomer fixes the time and manner of an eclipse. Given the terms of proportion, a boy, in arithmetic, could no more surely get the fourth than that this very result has followed from the means which have been at work. Good men had worked out this problem long before it came. They have feared, they have trembled, they have warned. Martyrs to American liberty are no new persons. Suppression of the free press is no new thing.

Slavery is no more ugly and hateful now than it has ever been. Its nature has received no new characteristic. It has only taken courage by success. It has only grown insolent by the subserviency of the North. It is while the freemen have slept upon the pillow of personal liberty that the enemy has been sowing tares, and now the fruit appears. The North is industrious and enterprising; the South lives upon the products extorted from slave labor; while the North has been building roads, turning out manufactures, cultivating the soil, driving

commerce, securing her own comfort in schools, churches, and societies, and, in short, according to her natural proclivity, minding her own business, the South has spent all her leisure in managing and manoueuering to increase the power of slavery and to fasten it perpetually upon our American institutions. We had not yet waked up to the extent of the influence which had already been thus secured by the Slave Oligarchy. We had been accustomed to consider that the unfortunate three millions of Africans in the South were the only subjects of American slavery. This ought to have been enough to arouse us to a desperate effort in their behalf; but, as this did not suffice, we are brought literally to *feel for them as bound with them*. The chain is to be thrown about Northern freedom, and we are compelled to recognize the fact that slavery *does* exist in these United States and in the North, and we are compelled to see what the Slave Oligarchy mean to do.

My friends, I know not how to approach this recent development of slavery with any appropriate terms of description. I know that the Slave Oligarchy of 92,000 men are at this moment wielding the entire power of this National Government to advance their own designs. I know that the entire force of this administration is used in treason to liberty, and in the support of the blackest despotism that ever saw the sun. Removing the landmark of liberty, 36° 30', was in contemptuous violation of national honor and national good faith. And when it was pretended that the country was thrown open to all alike, from the South and from the North, to choose whatever institutions they might prefer, then for the government by its strong arm to interfere and say, as it has said, freedom shall not go there, slavery only shall, the

terms hypocrisy, and meanness, and injustice don't begin to cover such conduct.

When an armed invasion from a neighboring State take possession of the ballot box upon the day appointed for the sovereigns of Kansas to express their will for their own government; when those freemen are driven from their elective franchise, the very boon for which our fathers bled and died; when the legislature thus elected by Border Ruffians is acknowledged, and defended by the President in two messages to Congress, this is declaring, by the national organ, that our free institutions are a sham and a failure, and that the usurpations of the slave-ocracy shall be sustained.

The children of the North were invited by the parental government to go and make their homes in that wilderness, that by causing it to bud and blossom, they might bring honor, and wealth, and power into the national family, all with the implied promise of protection to person, property and rights—protection which the government was under obligation to furnish, and which has been secured to emigrants to all other territories. And what is more, as if to invite confidence and assurance of safety, there were already upon the ground old, strong and well known fortifications for the country, so that in case of invasion from the savages on the west, they would be guarded by this friendly protection. But, when they were invaded by the savages of Missouri, what must have been their consternation to find that their very defense was their destruction.

So loyal were they to the parent government that, even in the face of their injuries, they repeated their attestations of submission to any federal law or authority, and were willing even, at the command of government, to

deliver up any of their men, or of their arms, and yet those same United States forces, under positive orders, stood by and defended the savages in their plunder, and arson, and murder, at Lawrence. And when the same outraged men were gathering at Topeka to avenge themselves upon their invaders, then the United States forces were ready to prevent their organizing. But I arraign the powers that be more for what they have *not* done than for what they have. They have not protected their good and loyal subjects. Only one word from the commander-in-chief to that United States fort would have been enough to have saved all this outrage, and disgrace, and blood. If the invaders had been warned that the United States would protect her citizens upon her own national territory, they would never have dared what they did; or, if they did, once would have been enough. Freemen are there shot down and their murderers allowed to go at large. When Kozta, only a partially naturalized citizen, was jeopardized in his rights, the United States government was very quick to furnish him redress; when some poor slave has got out of his yoke of bondage, and is making his way to some land of liberty, orders from head-quarters tingle along the wires to every part of the country to catch the poor, degraded, despised victim of oppression. But to defend a freeman in Kansas is beyond the power of the United States, just because it is beyond their disposition. Many an American, traveling in the old world, has complained of the annoyance of passes from country to country. But we have now got far beyond this, for here a freeman, to travel in his own territory, must get a pass from some United States officer; and even that is violated, and the violation submitted to by the authorities. A judge upon the

bench, a tool of the administration, makes up his jury, and alters and fills it up, all upon the simple principle of empanneling other tools of the slave power, and then he charges them to find every man guilty of treason who has done just what he was invited to do, just what other territories have done, just what many precedents have authorized, viz: organizing a State government, with constitution and laws.

But the greatest outrage of all is the attempt to enforce the laws of that pseudo-legislation. In comparison with these, the laws of Draco are redeemed from the single notoriety they have had for the last twenty-four hundred years.

These laws make it a death offense to carry away any slave from his master to make him free, and also a death offense to aid in persuading any slave to escape for his freedom. It is a felony punishable by five years' imprisonment at hard labor, to print, circulate or publish any book, paper, pamphlet or magazine containing any sentiment calculated to induce slaves to escape from their masters.

• It is likewise a felony for any free person, by speaking or writing, to assert that persons have not the right to hold slaves there, or to circulate any book containing any denial of the right of any person to hold slaves in the territory.

By these laws, no person "conscientiously opposed to holding slaves" is allowed to sit on jury. All officers of the territory are obliged to swear to sustain the Fugitive Slave Law and the organic law of the territory. And all persons are required to take an oath to support the Fugitive Slave Law before they are allowed to vote. According to these laws it would be death to do what

many of this congregation have done, to hide the outcast, help him on his way, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked. Freedom of speech, freedom of thought and freedom of the press are all smitten down at once. Jefferson would be a felon in Kansas, to say to a slave "I have sworn, upon the altar of my God, eternal hostility to tyranny in every form, over the mind and body of man."

Patrick Henry would be a felon, to say, in the presence of a slave, "Give me liberty or give me death." Ah, it would be felony there to read to slaves, or circulate among them, a book containing these words of our Declaration: "All men are born free and equal, and endowed with the inalienable rights of life and liberty,"—a felony to point a slave to that article of the Constitution which says, "We, the people, in order to establish justice," the inalienable right of man, "do ordain." And yet these are the laws which the federal authorities are trying to enforce upon the free consciences and free hearts of free men. But the crime is not so much that these laws were made by a false legislature, and that they are so horrid in themselves, as that they are approved and accepted by the United States government, which is demanding their enforcement. It is not the Border Ruffians that deserve our execration so much as the federal administration. They are only the secondary, while this is the primary. They are the tools, willing and obedient, of a corrupt power. The lions that rend the martyrs are not so much to blame as the public authorities that furnish them with their prey.

And the embodiment of all this usurpation and tyranny is the chief magistrate of this Union. The Slave Oligarchy have devised the scheme and dictated the measures, but he is their willing and obedient executive. The

powerful influence of his office, as president of one of the mightiest nations on the globe, is all subsidized in the support of such usurpation.

The impersonated form of American liberty impeaches him of treason to freedom. The spirits of '76, in behalf of Kansas, impeach him of all the tyranny of the British king. "He has sent hither swarms of officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, *giving his assent to their acts* of pretended legislation. He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection and *waging war against it*. He has excited domestic insurrection among us and *endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontier the merciless savages*. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury." All these charges have a "fearful particularity" in the executive oppressions of Kansas.

My hearers, leaving now this struggling people, despairing of rightful protection from this Democratic tyrant, let us follow her, all bloody and scarred, yet cheerful and buoyant, with her Republican Constitution in her hand, up to seek redress and protection by admission into the Union of States. She knocks at the door of the Senate, not with a tremulous hand, but confident in the righteousness of her cause. She is not welcomed in; she is repulsed; objections of informality are trumped up by the same omnipresent enemy that had crushed her at home. In the modesty of her virgin character she is ridiculed and tormented. But there the champions of Freedom espouse her cause. And now it is the time for the son of Massachusetts to stand up in defense of free Kansas. In the dignity and grandeur of a noble man and a true

patriot, himself the very impersonation of Freedom, for two days he stood upon the basis of free speech and plead the cause of the new State. In words of burning light he described the CRIME against her, the concentration of desertion, conspiracy, invasion and murder, "and ending at last in the perfect subjugation of a generous people to an unprecedented *usurpation*. Turning aghast from the *crime*, which, like murder, seemed to confess itself, 'with most miraculous organ,' he canvassed with "mingled shame and indignation the four apologies of tyranny, of imbecility, of absurdity and infamy, in which it had been wrapped, marking especially the false testimony, congenial with the original crime against the Emigrant Aid Society." Then he "noted in succession the four remedies, of tyranny, of folly, of injustice and civil war, and of justice and peace," which last was sustained as the only true remedy. The enemy were confounded; the shame of their crime was exposed; their arguments, and evasions, and sophistries were annihilated; their remedies were stamped with execration, and themselves, pierced with the arrows of exposure and riven by the lightning-flashes of truth, were filled with malice and rage at their own imbecility compared with that Colossus of American grandeur.

But still the slave power must triumph; if not in one way, it must in another; and so an armed savage creeps into the Senate Chamber and falls upon his victim, giving him no chance for self-defence, knocks him down upon the floor with one stunning blow, and then continues to pound that senseless body until his bludgeon was beaten into shivers. This attack had many aggravations, with not one single mitigation. It was premeditated. Another ruffian stood by brandishing a cane, with a pistol

under his skirt, to keep off a defense. Douglas, of giant infamy, stood by with his hands in his pocket. It was upon the Senate floor, a place consecrated to free speech and personal safety. The victim was a most perfect gentleman, almost the idol of the North, so that the blows laid upon him were meant for every Northern freeman. The ruffian dared to appear in his seat the next morning with a self-justification. The Senate appointed merely a milk-and-water committee to look into the matter. It was a direct expression of insult and contempt for Massachusetts; but most ignominiously of all, it was a blow deliberately and intentionally aimed at free speech and freedom in the North. It was no freak of passion; it was no hasty accident in the heat of debate; it was a predetermined plan for the slave-driving South to try its lash upon the noblest specimen of the Northern freeman. It was meant to teach the North who their masters are.

This and the Kansas crime reveal a new step in the policy of slavery: that *physical force must and shall* be used to carry out its measures. The instigator of all this crime, a short time since, ventured to divulge the secret policy, when he declared to this first victim, "*We will subdue you, sir;*" and no one knows but this very thing was in his mind at the time. Every man of the Slave Oligarchy in the House and in the Senate voted against a committee even to enquire into this outrage, and their language was, "Brooks has done right;" "Sumner has got what he deserves." A court subsidized by slavery let the ruffian loose upon the paltry bail of \$500. The Southern press teems with approval of the conspirators and with the foulest vituperation of the unfortunate man. They say this is the only way the Abolitionists can be *controlled*.

They recommend to follow it up upon Seward and others. Indeed a testimonial is to be presented from his own constituents to the cowardly assassin. When the murderer Herbert came into the House to take his seat, every representative from a Slave State, and every supporter of the Administration save one, voted that the matter of a murder by a Southerner was not worth inquiring into. When a veteran editor, because of his tendencies toward freedom, was beaten upon the grounds of the capitol by a Southern member, the subject was not even referred to in the House which had been so disgraced by the insolent bully.

Thus slavery has worked itself out. Those inhuman laws of Kansas; the determination to force slavery into a territory against the wishes of the actual citizens; the power that is used to crush out liberty from that region, and the recent demonstrations at Washington—all these but furnish an illustration to the world of what slavery is; and perhaps for this reason God has suffered these men to act out its spirit. Slavery is based upon force, and causes slaveholders to rely upon force for its defense; and force it will use, whether upon black man or white man, whether South or North.

Besides, slavery has now divulged its long secret plan to subvert the principles and ultimately to change the form of our government; to drive freedom of the press, of speech—all freedom—out of the land. Already she has turned the whole North into a hunting ground for slaves, and subsidized for this work every national officer. Already she has insolently declared that she will call the roll of her slaves in the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument. Already she demands, and it is feared the Supreme Court will grant the demand, to bring her slaves

unmolested to the North, to remain here as long as she please. Already she has torn up the landmark of freedom, and taken possession of a mighty domain of free soil. Already she has announced and commenced the work of *subduing* the North.

Thus we have sketched the struggle between slavery and freedom in this country, from the beginning to the present crisis. Inherently antagonistic, there has been a perpetual hostility between them. Slavery has been making continual aggressions, and in every attack has been successful. In the struggle, freedom has not gained one substantial victory. And every triumph of slavery has been increasingly flagrant. Every success has emboldened its insolence; the Slave Oligarchy don't know what it is to be defeated, while freedom has become accustomed to humiliations and submissions. Nor is this crisis the ultimatum, the climax of Southern usurpation. It is but the sounding of the second angel, by which "a great mountain, burning with fire, was cast into the sea." An invading army of slavery is cast into Kansas; and when shall that sea of blood be dried up? There remain yet five angels to sound.

BUT WHAT MUST WE DO?

The first thing is, *to pray to God.*

That is a species of practical atheism prevailing at present which separates God from the governorship of nations, and makes Him indifferent to their conduct. Nothing is clearer than that for the first 4000 years of our race God gave especial attention to the management of nations and of governments. He dealt with nations in prosperity and in judgment, with rewards and with punishments, just as He did with individuals. He dealt with

them *by name* and by character. He dealt with nations and with national sins. He delivered oppressed nations from their oppressors. He exalted and He debased. And did the closing of the canon of scripture close God's connection with nations for care and for government? The history of the Christian era is as full of the marks of God's dealing with nations as the era of inspiration. In the origin of this nation God's hand is as distinctly seen as in the origin of the Jewish nation. The development of the Revolution was a peculiar and emphatic mark of the hand of God, as much as the deliverance of Israel. The mission God gave this nation for freedom and religion was as distinct as the mission of the Jews in Palestine. God designed this nation for a model of government, for the herald of universal freedom, for the missionary of the world. For this purpose He has given us unwonted power and prosperity. For this purpose He has given us the influence and standing of one of the mightiest nations on the globe.

But God sees that we have not fulfilled our mission. The independence which He secured to us we have not used in spreading liberty, but rather the power and prosperity He has given us has been prostituted to the furtherance of despotism. In the very heart of our domain and of our government has grown up the vilest system of usurpation and tyranny that God ever looked upon. God's image has been debased in the person of His poor enslaved. God's authority has been contemned. Our very religion has been made to throw its sacred mantle over this God-defying system. Our very Constitution, that was ordained to secure liberty, has been impressed to secure, intensify and extend slavery. Never were a nation so ungrateful as we have been. And does God

not regard this? Does He not *feel* this insult and dishonor? I believe God is greatly incensed at this nation. He has a controversy with us. O how great has been His *forbearance*! Not only has the South usurped this iniquity, but the North have yielded to it when it was in their power to have prevented it all. The North have stood by and seen the despoiling of liberty with scarcely a remonstrance—yea, the body of the North have joined hands with man-stealers and with the betrayers of American freedom.

We have *allowed* the encroachments of slavery. We have suffered the pillaging of the citadel of our liberties. We deserve to be slaves, and God knows it; and so He has allowed the recent demonstration to make *us* feel what the slaves have long been suffering. God has allowed the Border Ruffian and the national assassin to try the lasso of slavery upon the necks of freemen, to give us warning. God has been trying to save us, as a nation, from infamy. He has been trying to rouse us to a sense of our responsibility and our guilt, by holding the burning sun of His goodness before the icy mountain of our ingratitude. He has been trying to stimulate our national pride by leaving us the last nation in the support of bondage. He has been trying to make our national greatness put us to shame for our nation's disgrace. God has allowed the South to go on with a long succession of outrages and enormities that have exhausted all power of insult and injury, in order to arouse the North to independence. But all to no effect. At last He is compelled to allow the whisperings, yea, the muttering thunders of civil war to greet our ears. That we may be warned of our own coming degradation and enthraldom, He has brought us to *taste* the bitter portion of those whom we

have neglected and despised. God is threatening His judgments. Can He be appeased? Yes. And how? By our repentance and doing our duty henceforth. Some of us have mourned over these things. But "how deep would that mourning go if we should arise above our national pride and national self-complacency, and look at our guilt as it appears before God!" We must repent and mourn for our sins in the sight of God.

Then we can again appeal to Him for help as our fathers did. Then we can have God on our side; and this must be, or all our plans will fail. We must seek to please God first of all. We must put ourselves into His plans; we must then do all His designs require. A most hopeful feature of the present crisis is, that it has driven the praying ones to God. They feel shut up to Him. All at once our prayer meetings have for their burden the desire of help from God for Kansas and for freedom. All at once the spirit of our public worship resolves itself into an acknowledgement of the sovereignty of God, into humiliation before Him and imploration of His help.

We must pray for the slaves; we must pray for our brethren in Kansas; we must pray that God would lay His hand upon their enemies; we must pray God to nullify the counsel of our rulers; we must pray for wisdom to direct us what to do.

But, besides uniting in prayer, *we must be united in action.* This has always been our defeat, that we were not united. The South are a unit upon this subject. No side issues are allowed to interrupt the harmony or massiveness of their action. In solid phalanx they march for "one idea," and that it is that has always secured them victory. But in the North various issues have distracted our movements. And we have had different methods for our different

issues. But has not the time come for us to lay aside all minor differences and unite upon the one, only, grand issue, of national freedom? All other questions are swallowed up in this. There is no other leading issue before the people of the United States—there is none other in Congress. The South unite because slavery is the basis of their system; it is, to them, their all. But, is not freedom as much the basis of our system? and is not that, to us, *our all*? The rapid, lengthy, hastening strides of the slave power are compelling us to this; there is no other way for us. It is for ourselves, liberty or slavery. The Slave Oligarchy that have so long ruled this government hate freedom, only for themselves; they hate the free institutions of the North, and they are determined to make an end of them. And in their extermination they mean to be no respecters of persons. This they have shown by making the man who was the first among us and nearest our hearts the first victim of national assassination. The meaning of that act, as respects Northern freemen, was the same as when Nero “wished that the whole people of Rome had but *one neck*, so that he could kill them all at one blow.” We are then looked upon as a unit, by our enemies, and shall we not *be* a unit, for our mutual defense?

Some have been a long time enlisted in this cause, and they have fought for it as best they could; but this is now no time for them to complain of past grievances, or throw stones upon the new recruits. They have labored long to get slavery before the people as the issue, and now just that is coming to pass. Behold the fruit of labor! Neither is it any longer the time for those more recently joining this issue, to stigmatize those more radical as “*Abolitionists*.” No man in this country has done

so much to redeem this title from reproach as Charles Sumner. And it is destined yet to become a title of honor—all the more noble for the odium heaped upon it. At the ballot box we must be united. We must vote for principles and for principles in our men. That little box has been styled the palladium of our liberties. It is the home of our freedom; it is the right arm of our power; it is the repository of our God-given rights. We must protect it more sacred than the ancients their household deities. We must use it under a sense of our responsibility to God, to our country and to humanity.

Is there no danger in this quarter, and no need of union at the ballot box and in its defense, when just the thing which was done at the Kansas election has been done in the State north of us by the same southern power which foisted a bogus governor, a tool of slavery, into the chair of freemen's sovereignty?

The same will be done in Illinois, and Massachusetts, and all our States, if we do not unite to check the encroachments of this insolent despotism. But what shall we do for our brethren in Kansas, whose liberties have been throttled, whose property is destroyed, and whose lives are in jeopardy?

After calm deliberation I am prepared to answer, *Defend them by force.*

The matter is reduced simply to a question of *self-defense*. That principle God has put within us; it is a responsibility of our divine constitution. I need not argue it. A wife and a babe look to me for protection, and I am untrue to my manhood, unfaithful to my God, if I do not defend them in time of peril. An armed invasion directed by the slave power is determined to drive freedom and freemen out of Kansas, by powder

and ball. To defend these thousands of freemen there, or even to defend freedom for Kansas alone, is not the question. That were enough; but the principle of our American liberties is again brought to the test. It is the same issue over again which our fathers in the Revolution met and decided so gloriously. It is the issue of despotism against our national freedom. I can put it upon no other basis. The enemy comes from a different quarter, but is still the same enemy of our American liberty. Indeed it seems more imperious than that noble movement. There are much greater grievances; there are greater aggravations; there is more at stake. The number of persons in abject chattel slavery is now greater than the original number who fought for freedom; then there are, besides, 20,000,000 of freemen to be defended. Kansas has become the Thermopylæ of our national freedom. Her defeat is our defeat. Weighty events in history are made to turn upon single points. A victory of three hundred Spartans decided the fortune of a mighty nation. A Gideon, with three hundred chosen men, made an era in the history of Israel. The Southern Oligarchy have chosen the battle field and the time: Kansas, and now. The taking of Sevastopol decided the result of a war in which nearly all the nations of Europe were embroiled. Kansas is now the Sevastopol of wavering despotism and freedom. If we meet the issue there it may save us hundreds of battles all along the line of our free domain. For this is the question: Shall we defend ourselves in Kansas now, or wait till Illinois is in jeopardy? The same policy and power that opened a passage for slavery into Kansas through the Missouri Compromise can just as well, by and by, annul the Ordinance of 1787, and then we shall have to see Kansas

scenes enacted all over these five glorious North-Western States. It is not only the question of the freedom of the black slaves, but whether we ourselves shall be reduced to a more degraded bondage than our fathers were delivered from. We may as well look at the matter calmly now, and decide whether we will be freemen or slaves.

We, the people of the United States, have united together for mutual protection—we have appointed an agent to perform that function for us—that agent is our national government; and now that our agent has failed to protect a part of our commonwealth, whose is the business and whose the responsibility to defend them but ourselves? If we do not, we make ourselves responsible to Kansas for all the wrongs of the government. Yes, who are the sovereigns—the people, or the government? Has that old American idea of individual royalty died out of our blood, and out of our principles?

Besides, the unborn millions that are to swarm across the continent from Kansas to the Pacific, will look to us as the authors of their blessings, or their miseries, according as we now decide for that territory. There are to be six new States there by and by—New Mexico, Oregon, Washington, Utah, Nebraska and Kansas—and their fate will, in all probability, be decided by the result now. These embryo States are like lambs huddled together in a thicket, while wolves, hungry and fierce, prowl about them, now that they have got a taste of blood. Shall we deliver those innocents out of the jaws of wild beasts? Are we always to be satisfied with mere impulse and indignation? Is it enough, with provoking ludicrousness, ever to be whining our grievances without redressing them? We *blustered* when Texas was received, but we did nothing else. We denounced the

Mexican war, but no more. We boiled over at the Fugitive Slave law, and soon all was quiet again. We became highly excited at the Nebraska perfidy, but very soon quietly acquiesced. And now our indignation is up to boiling point, and shall we do any thing more? Or shall we sink ourselves lower in our own self-respect, and deeper in the contempt of all who look upon us, by cooling off again into acquiescence?

Are we to be content with the single notoriety of infamy in being the last of all the nations in upholding slavery, or rather in becoming ourselves slaves? France, England and Denmark have abolished their slavery; and so Morocco, and Tunis, and Madagascar. Austria, Russia and Turkey are all following. To us alone belongs the hateful championship.

Self-defense is the only way to preserve peace. Imbecility now will encourage further aggression. Firmness will vanquish bravado. I believe there *is* a moral force in Sharpe's rifles. The proof is at Lawrence; her preparation and her readiness to defend herself did what no negotiation, no entreaty, no argument could do. At the second attack moral suasion was tried without rifles, and their town was destroyed and citizens murdered. The influence of merely moral means upon such men is seen by the impression made upon them by that magnificent effort of argument and oratory which only secured at their hands the pounding of the massive brain that conceived it. Anything like a respectable self-defense will secure respect and safety.

When a wicked government had put forth an edict for the entire destruction of the Jewish nation, Esther and Mordecai set the people all to praying. That was just right; but they also put weapons into their hands for

defense, and their prayers were only answered in the use of those weapons. Those who did not use the means of defense did not have their prayers answered. A missionary has just written from Turkey, where he says he is more free to publish the gospel than he would be in half of the United States, "If the sword was rightly put into the hands of the sons of Levi, when Moses broke the tables and they slew three thousand of the idolatrous Israelites, if in that case they might slay every man his brother and every man his neighbor, how much more clearly may the sons of freedom in Kansas calmly protect their wives and homes from coward brutes." If Nehemiah and his men might justifiably carry a weapon in one hand to defend themselves from the border ruffians while they built the walls of Jerusalem with the other, may not our brethren who are building the wall of freedom in Kansas, likewise defend themselves from savage foes? And is it not our duty to go and help them, even as whole companies came up from Babylon to assist Nehemiah? The North have forbore for a long time; they have long submitted for the sake of peace. But their forbearance will by and by give out, and their pent-up, fiery indignation, which has long been accumulating, and only intensified by the pressure, will by and by "burst forth into a volcano of terror," as in the words of our text, "And at the time of the end" of their forbearance, "shall the King of the South push at him, and the King of the North shall come against him *like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen and with many ships*, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over."

If the South still persist in rushing this nation on to civil war, that "whirlwind" will sweep from Mason & Dixon's to Florida; from the Alleghanies to the Rocky

Mountains. The South are rousing up a force now that they have never felt and they know little of. I mean the *religious sentiment*. Conscience keeps that feeling from organized warfare and from aggression; but when, after endurance is no longer a virtue, and conscience interposes no barriers to its courage, but even backs it up, giving a spell to all its audacity and fascination to its sanguine chivalry, there is a power that is perfectly *irresistible*. It is this that makes your Cromwells and your Round Heads. It is this that gives them their daring and success. Indeed, when has ever freedom made any material advance in the world which has not been conquered from a relentless tyranny? And when has there ever been any achievement of liberty that did not suck its life from the blood of conscientious heroes?

Or where has there ever been any yielding of the grasp of despotism which was not wrenched from its very teeth? The South, trained to drive, taught to subdue, tickled with authority, grown plethoric and insolent by chivalry, will probably never cease their oppression and tyranny until God sends some Moses to accomplish another exodus, through fire, and death, and wave! God has been sending prosperity and mercy until the Pharaoh of slavery has already hardened himself beyond the induration of his Egyptian namesake. And now he is trying the severer test of threatening war. But wo be the day when God leads forth His people from the midst of wailings from every house, from the palace of Pharaoh to the little cabin of him who drives a single slave!

I do not counsel aggression and insubordination, but I *do* counsel self-preservation through the defense of Kansas. I *do* counsel the raising of money and men to send to their distress—"settlers who will invade no man's rights,

but *will maintain* their own." Why do you praise the deeds of your fathers and boast your descent from the blood of '76? It is because they were Christian patriots, the world's benefactors. Be worthy sons of your worthy sires. And why do you men always sit at the head of your slips in church, with so much uniformity that it has become an irreversible fashion? The habit is said to have come down from your fathers, who worshipped God while thus they sat with their family under one arm for protection and their other arm upon a musket, ready to defend themselves against a sudden foe. May not, then, their children truly worship the same God, and yet stand ready to defend themselves where they have gone to plant and cultivate the Puritan principles upon the plains of Kansas?

The closing words of that mangled orator whose sweet reverberations of liberty and humanity have scarcely died out of our ears, I am happy to adopt:

"In just regard for free labor in that territory, which it is sought to blast by unwelcome association with slave labor; in Christian sympathy with the slave, whom it is proposed to task and to sell there; in stern condemnation of the crime which has been consummated on that beautiful soil; in rescue of fellow citizens now subjugated to a tyrannical usurpation; in dutiful respect for our early fathers, whose aspirations are now ignobly thwarted; in the name of the Constitution, which has been outraged—of the laws trampled down—of justice banished—of humanity degraded—of peace destroyed—of freedom crushed to the earth, and in the name of the Heavenly Father, whose service is perfect freedom, I make this last appeal."